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1947

PALESTINE

File No. 512

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References-

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PALESTINE

Registry Number

FROM E512/512/31

No. Frances E Newton

Dated Anglo Arab Friendship Society
Received in Registry 8 Jan 1947
15 Jan 1947

Palestine Conference

Discusses interview between Mr J Thomas B.O. and representatives of Anglo-Arab Friendship Society on the subject of Palestine during which the society urged HMG to invite the Mufti of Jerusalem to the conference, and that the white paper policy of 1939 be maintained.

Last Paper.

N.P.P.

(Minutes.)

F.B. 15/1

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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(Action completed.)

F.M. 15/1

(Index.)

[Signature] 16/1/48

Next Paper.

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10 JAN 1947

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The Anglo-Arab Friendship Society

62a CADOGAN SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Telephone: KEN 7822

Chairman of the Committee
THE EARL OF NORBURY

Committee
MRS. FOX STRANGWAYS
CAPTAIN ALAN GRAHAM
LADY MAKINS
MISS FRANCES NEWTON,
D.J. of O.St.J., F.R.G.S.
DOUGLAS REED, Esq.
CAPTAIN ARTHUR ROGERS, O.B.E.
LT.-COL. A. D. WINTLE, M.C., F.R.S.L.

Hon. Secretary
MISS FRANCES NEWTON
Arab Liaison
YUSUF BANDAK EFFENDI
Hon. Treasurer
MRS. FOX STRANGWAYS

8th January 1947

E 512
18 JAN

The Right Honble. Sir Ernest Bevin,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

Sir,

I am asked by the Committee of the Anglo-Arab Friendship Society to submit for your information the enclosed report which was drawn up by it concerning the interview which by invitation was kindly granted to our Chairman and myself by Mr. Ivor Thomas on the 6th January, 1947.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Frances E. Newton

Hon. Secretary.

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On the 6th January, 1947, the representatives of the Anglo-Arab Friendship Society, the Chairman, the Earl of Norbury, and the Honorary Secretary, Miss Frances Newton, called by invitation on the Colonial Secretary to lay before him the views of the Anglo-Arab Friendship Society on the subject of Palestine.

The Anglo-Arab Friendship Society is in close touch with the leaders of Arab opinion and Arab representatives in this country.

They were received by Mr. Ivor Thomas, Parliamentary Under Secretary at the Colonial Office.

The representatives told the Parliamentary Under Secretary that the Anglo-Arab Friendship Society was in full agreement with the Arab leaders in rejecting the Morrison plan as being unworkable and unjust. They urged that H.M. Government should invite the Mufti or his nominee to the coming Conference and that the policy as laid down in the White Paper of 1939, which was acceptable to the Arabs as a basis of agreement, be maintained.

The representatives were assured by the Parliamentary Under Secretary that it is not the policy of H.M. Government to allow the Zionists to dictate the Agenda for the forth-coming Conference.

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PALESTINE

Registry Number } E1072/512/31
FROM Earl of Norbury
No. Anglo-Arab
Dated Friendship
Received Society
in Registry }
30 Jan 1947
4 Feb 1947

Palestine Litigation.

Enclose statement which has been drawn up by the Society, on the subject of discussion at the London Conference, giving the proposals of the three parties concerned, i.e., H.M.G. Arabs and Jews.

(Minutes.)

H.B. 4/2

Last Paper.

914

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

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(Index.)

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Next Paper.

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Hon. Secretary
MISS FRANCES NEWTON
Arab Liaison
YUSUF BANDAK EFFENDI
Hon. Treasurer
MRS. FOX STRANGWAYS

30th January 1947

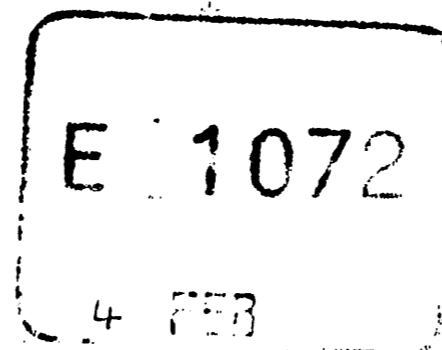
Sir,

For the information of those interested in the subject of discussion at the London Conference, the enclosed statement has been drawn up which I send to you hoping you may find it useful.

Yours sincerely,

NORBURY

The Foreign Secretary,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.



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PALESTINE

The grim triangular controversy concerning the future of Palestine reopens with the holding of a third Arab Jewish Conference in London in January 1947 by the aid of which the British Government hopes to find a way to unravel the tangled web she wove by the issue of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Having failed in doing so at the First London Conference held in 1939 to release the Palestine Arabs from the tentacles of the Zionist spider, the Government produced a carefully drawn up statement of policy in a White Paper (cmd 6019) designed to allow both the spider and the fly peacefully to share the same web. But it referred to later, but meanwhile it can only be said that during the seven years since the issue of the White Paper, the web has become more hopelessly entangled than ever, in fact, a spider has been reached which threatens to endanger the peace of the world and calls for drastic action to be taken without delay. The question is, what shall it be? The present position is this: the British Government stands hovering over the situation with solicitude to evildoers, seeking to reconcile the irreconcilable aspirations of the Arabs and the Jews. Facing her, stand the Arabs ready, but unable to place any faith in British good intentions having seen them so often frustrated.

On the other hand, the Jews face us in their Congress declaring their resolute determination by all means in their power to thwart and resist any benevolent action towards the Arabs and do so by means of dynamite and flame throwers.

"The problem of Palestine", said the Royal Commission, "cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want". The answer to the question, "which of them in the end will govern Palestine?" must surely be, "neither", but they went on to say, "Partition seems to offer at least a chance of ultimate peace. We can see none in any other plan". C.I. Report p.375-6. Following this advice, the Government at once sent out a technical commission to investigate the possibility of Partition as outlined by the Royal Commission. In 1938 a White Paper (cmd 5893) was issued which said, "The Government after careful study of the Palestine Partition Report, have reached the conclusion that this further examination has shown that the political administrative and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish states inside Palestine, are so great, that this solution of the problem, is impracticable". (p.3) In spite of this, the present Government owing to the tragic events in Palestine during recent months, is again advocating Partition. The Press too is urging it: the "Times" in a leading article entitled "The Zionist case", ends with these words:-

"In justice to the requirements of the time and to the British troops and police in Palestine who now sustain so heavy a burden, the British Government must now proceed to explore the possibilities of a final solution which are almost certainly to be found only in some practicable formula of partition". Dec.27th,1946.

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is any practicable form of Partition to be found? Just as there are three parties concerned in seeking a solution, i.e., Britons, Arabs and Jews, so there are three programmes which may be discussed at the London Conference in January 1947.

1) The British programme known as the 'Morrison Plan'

It owes its title to the fact that it was presented by Mr. Morrison to the House of Commons on July 31st, 1946. In his speech he expounded in detail the proposed new policy for Palestine. This is based on the recommendations of British and American experts as to the policy to be adopted "in respect of all the matters covered by the report of the Anglo-American Committee". (Hansard - House of Commons - July 31st 1946). The recommendations made in the Report had been so severely criticised as to be unacceptable. Here is a brief summary of the Morrison Plan:- The basic principle on which it rests is that "Palestine as a whole can be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State", therefore the "form of Government must be such as to safeguard the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths". With this aim in view, there should be set up in Palestine, an Arab and a Jewish Province each of which would enjoy a large measure of autonomy under the supervision of a central Government. "For this purpose Palestine would be divided into four areas: an Arab Province, a Jewish Province, a district of Jerusalem and a district of the Negeb". An instrument of Government which would establish the fundamental law would provide for a "guarantee of civil, religious rights and equality before the law of all residents, and for the freedom of inter-territorial transit, trade and commerce. There would be reserved to the Government exclusive authority as to defence, foreign relations... and the administration of law and order. (Hansard Vol.426 No.133 c 970).

Such in barest outline is the Morrison Plan to be submitted by the Government as a basis for discussion on the Agenda of the Conference. It should be noted that, while the form of Partition proposed by the Royal Commission, divided Palestine into two halves, under the Morrison Plan, it is proposed to divide it into four quarters.

THE ARAB PROGRAMME

The Arab programme falls into line with the policy laid down by the British Government in 1939 in so far as it anticipates the creation of a Palestinian State in which all sections of the population share in the government of the country. The Arabs ask only that the oriental characteristics of the country shall not be prejudiced by the enforced influx of an occidental immigration, introducing element alien to the inherent disposition of its original inhabitants.

The following extracts from the Memorandum presented by the Arab Higher Committee to the Anglo-American Committee, light up the horizon beyond the present deadlock.

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MAR 1947

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Hon. Secretary
MISS FRANCES NEWTON
Arab Liaison
YUSUF BANDAK EFFENDI
Hon. Treasurer
MRS. FOX STRANGWAYS

21st Feb. 1947

His Majesty's Secretary of State for
Foreign Affairs.

E 1722
26 FEB

Sir,

Lord Norbury and the Committee of this Society desire me to send this early private expression of their appreciation of the honesty of purpose and statesmanlike courage which characterised your speech in the House of Commons giving the basis of British policy on Palestine, although we would have preferred this new approach to the Palestine problem to have been without the further monthly instalment of 1500 immigrants.

Sad but none the less welcome however, is your clear cut vindication of the Arab view that the Palestine Mandate was unworkable and that the two obligations, imposed on the British Government by that complex instrument, were irreconcilable.

The complexity was frequently admitted by previous Cabinets, but in spite of the realities of the situation, His Majesty's Government always claimed before the Permanent Mandates Commission and the world at large that the two conflicting obligations were not irreconcilable.

The reference to the United Nations with "no particular solution" appears to afford the British Government the opportunity at least of seeking such a solution as will secure a long-term policy of real Anglo-Arab friendship in the Middle East and the whole of the Arab and Moslem world.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

Frances E. Newton

FRANCES E. NEWTON
Hon. Secretary.

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8 AUG 1947
PALESTINE

Britain's Honour at Stake

by

FRANCES NEWTON

"I am very happy to commend this valuable little booklet to students of the Palestine question. Miss Newton's knowledge of the subject is matchless."

DOUGLAS REED.

Price 6d.

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PALESTINE

Britain's Honour at Stake

by FRANCES NEWTON

Dame of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem

THE PALESTINE MANDATE

versus

THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

Which is the right one?

A question for U.N.O. to answer

also

THE WHITE PAPER OF 1939

TEXT of the OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS CONCERNED

Issued by the

ANGLO-ARAB FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY,
62A, CADOGAN SQUARE, S.W.1.

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THE PALESTINE MANDATE

versus

The Mandate FOR Palestine

Two quite distinct and separate documents

IN the first document "The Palestine Mandate" drawn up during the Peace Conference of 1919, three parties were concerned, i.e., the Allied Powers, the British Government, and the population of Palestine which, at that time, consisted of 93 per cent Arabs and 7 per cent. Jews.

The second document known as "The Mandate FOR Palestine" issued in 1923, concerned not only the Allied Powers, the British Government, and the population of Palestine, but introduces two further parties, i.e., the Government of Palestine, and World Jewry, ignoring the Arabs, who are referred to in that document only as "existing non-Jewish communities."

These being the underlying facts with which the United Nations Assembly is confronted, it is clear that it is not something that must be DONE, but something that must be UNDONE, before the three alternatives put before them by the British Foreign Secretary can logically be dealt with.

1917. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

The *origin* of the trouble in Palestine is to be found in the letter sent by Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild,

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dated 2nd November, 1917, known as "the Balfour Declaration," which reads as follows:—

"Dear Lord Rothschild,

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

"I shall be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

"Yours,
Arthur J. Balfour."

1919. THE PALESTINE MANDATE.

This Mandate originated at the Peace Conference held in Paris in 1919 after the first World War, when a group of Governments, i.e., the Allied Powers, vested themselves with authority to draw up a code of principles known as the COVENANT, which should govern the action to be taken in respect of the future administration of all the then conquered enemy territories, of which Palestine was one.

When some 50 other Governments, under the ægis of this most solemn pact called the COVENANT, had adopted the code or COVENANT, the League of Nations came formally into being, and the code became the rule of procedure known as the Mandatory System of Trusteeship, administering the conquered countries.

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The Palestine Mandate is therefore to be found in the text of the Covenant as follows :—

MANDATES (Article 22).

“To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that THE WELL-BEING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH PEOPLES FORM A SACRED TRUST OF CIVILISATION.”

Accordingly, the tutelage of these peoples has been entrusted by the Covenant to the more advanced nations who will administer these countries as Mandatories on behalf of the League. The character of the Mandates differs according to the stage of development of the people, consequently, mandated territories are divided into three categories :—A, B and C.

Class “A” Mandates

Formerly possessions of the Ottoman Empire

Mesopotamia (Iraq)	...	...	...	Great Britain
Palestine and Transjordan	...	...	...	Great Britain
Syria and the Lebanon	...	...	...	France

Article 22, Para. 4, deals specifically with these territories :—

“Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as INDEPENDENT NATIONS can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The WISHES of these communities must be a PRINCIPAL CONSIDERATION in the selection of the Mandatory.”

1920. THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE.

The next step was taken at San Remo in Italy when

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The Zionists see in the words " Re-constitute THEIR National Home"—not without some justification—the recognition of a right to establish Jewish Sovereignty in Palestine.

The Arabs, on the other hand, reading them in their own language, see the words " Watan Koumi " to mean the rehabilitation of a Jewish HOMELAND owned by virtue of ancestral inheritance, and not merely a " home " for Jews to live in. So, with equal justification, the Arabs refuse to recognise the right of the Allied Powers to deprive them of their own uninterrupted ancestral and historic rights in their ancient patrimony. Jewish occupation of Palestine ceased in A.D. 70.

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

This is a guarantee for the continuation of the work of the defunct League of Nations, and a pledge for the fulfilment of its obligations and responsibilities.

The attention of the United Nations is therefore drawn to Article 20.

Article 20

"The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as *abrogating all obligations or understandings* inter se, which are inconsistent with the terms thereof and *solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.*"

"In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, **it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.**"

A QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED.

Are the documents known as the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate FOR Palestine consistent or inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant?

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This is the one outstanding question which the FACT FINDING COMMITTEE is called upon to answer if the United Nations are really ready to shoulder the onerous duties they inherit as executors of the legacy bequeathed to them by the defunct League of Nations. It is not what has to be DONE, but what has first to be UNDONE, before a solution to the problem of Palestine can be sought for in the three alternatives put forward to the Assembly by the British Foreign Secretary.

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THE WHITE PAPER OF 1939

The White Paper of 1939 was issued as the result of the first really serious and unbiased examination of the series of promises and declarations made by the British Government during and after the war of 1914-1918.

Denounced from the first by the Zionists, it was seized upon as a bone of contention between them and the British, because they claim that "it violates the rights of the Jewish people"* under the Mandate FOR Palestine. In fact the hostility to this White Paper is best described in a speech by Ben Gurion at a Press Conference in New York some two years ago, in which he is reported to have said "If Great Britain decides to maintain the White Paper restrictions, she will be able to do so only through a reign of bloody terror."† Events since then have proved that this was no mere warning, but the expression of serious intention.

Zionist leaders appearing before the United Nations Assembly in May, 1947, have gone even so far as to affirm that Great Britain is responsible for the existence of Jewish terrorism because she does not withdraw the White Paper. This, surely, is in keeping with the "reign of bloody terror" foreshadowed by Ben Gurion. The Zionists take their stand on the ground that a

* *Zionist Review*, Jan. 10, 1947.

† *Zionist Review*, Jan. 10, 1947.

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